THE

KOREA REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1904.

Spelling Reform.

The following is not an attempt to give the views of any one person on this very important topic but to bring together all the arguments *pro* and *con* which have, up to the present time, been adduced.

It is generally known that about the middle of the fifteenth century King Se-jong appointed a commission to reduce Korean speech to phonetic writing. Their choice lay between a syllabary like that of Japan and a genuine alphabet. They chose the latter course and after many months of work, during which thirteen journeys were made to Manchuria to consult a famous Chinese scholar there in exile, an alphabet was completed. A careful distinction was made between vowels and consonants, the former being called the "mother" of the syllable and the latter the "child."

Before approaching the main subject we must inquire to what degree the inventors of this alphabet approximated to a perfect phonetic standard. Only two of the letters originally determined upon have been dropped. One of these represented the break in the throat when one pronounces a vowel in a slightly emphatic or explosive manner and the other was a still more obscure sound. It is found that almost all the letters in use today have but a single sound each. Each of the vowels

has its long and short quantity but that does not affect the quality of the sound except in the case of a single vowel. Each of the surds *k*, *p*, *t* and *ch* are pronounced as sonants *g*, *b*, *d* and *j* when euphony demands, and so the same letters are used both for surd and sonant. There is one weak letter that represents the sounds of *l* and *r*, and is also pronounced *n* in some cases. This is one serious defect in the phonetic structure of the Korean alphabet. The English alphabet will stand no comparison with the Korean for simplicity and consistency. There are a few exceptional uses of letters in Korean but these are nothing compared with what we find in English. And the reasons for these seeming lapses are the same in Korea as in English. The present spelling of English words represents a pronunciation that formerly existed but is now lost. Take the word "right." Today the gh is silent but in older times it was sounded. So in Korean, we have two ways of indicating the sound of *aa* s in *father*, but time was when these two methods represented two distinct sounds. In like manner all the inconsistencies now found are the result of phonetic change in the use of the language during the lapse of centuries, and do not prove a charge of carelessness against the authors of the alphabet.

The proposition, now formulated, is that we should revise the Korean alphabet and eliminate useless elements, and it is to the arguments for and against this course that we wish to direct the notice of the reader.

The proposed changes are as follows: (a) to drop one of the two methods of expressing the sound of *a* as in *father*. There is no difference in sound between the two and some think it would be well to simplify spelling by dropping one of them; (b) to discontinue the use of the letter *t* in those places where it is pronounced *ch* or *j*, and use the letter which ordinarily represents these sounds; (c) to discontinue the use of the double point in vowels preceded by the letters *s*, *t* and *ch*, because in these cases the y sound which the double point represents is never heard after these consonants.

Every one agrees that in these three particulars at

least the writing of Korean falls below a perfect phonetic standard, and it is generally felt that it would have been well if the originators of the alphabet and its use could have avoided these inconsistencies and infelicities. But the question that we have to face is whether at the present time, it would be well to adopt in all our Christian and other educational literature this more perfect phonetic standard that has been proposed, or whether it would be well to attempt to compromise and introduce at least a part of the suggestions, or whether in the third place it would be well to leave Korean spelling as it is.

Even the most enthusiastic advocates of these changes acknowledge that the burden of proof lies with them, for the law of inertia is not confined to physical nature and the present status of things must be considered the best until someone is ready to show another as good or better.

The first argument advanced is that there exists today no genuine standard of Korean spelling. The conservatives deny this and assert that there exists today at least the basis of a standard of spelling. As no native lexicographer has ever given us a complete vocabulary of the Korean and as the contempt in which the native script is professedly held by Koreans who read Chinese makes them quite careless as to the spelling of words in pure Korean, we can confidently affirm that Korean spelling is in a very backward state; yet those who claim the existence of a partial standard show the Ok-pyŭn as evidence. This book gives us the spelling of all the Chinese characters, and since there is as much Chinese in Korean as there is Latin in English they claim that so far as it goes the Ok-pyun forms a standard. As for native words there is more doubt. As a rule the ordinary verbal and substantive endings are stereotyped and can be said to have attained a fixed standard, but the ordinary nouns and verbs are spelled variously. The advocates of the change argue that even though there is something of a standard there runs through it no law of spelling. It all seems very arbitrary. This is true. If

we knew the ancient pronunciation of these words we should doubtless see why they are spelled as they are, but as phonetic changes have come in the vernacular we can find in the spelling of the words no fixed law. The same thing obtains in every language. Centuries ago every letter of the word *thorough* was sounded, as was every letter of the words *know*, *psalm*, etc. As the phonetic changes in the vernacular follow no fixed law necessarily the spelling must be gradually thrown into confusion if it is retained in its original form. It gets out of alignment, so to speak. The question is whether we shall draw the spelling back into alignment with the pronunciation or not. It seems to us that it depends very much upon the degree to which the present spelling has fixed itself in the Korean mind. We call a man a crank if he tries to tamper extensively with English spelling. It is a fixed quantity and people will not allow it to be violently wrenched out of the old grooves. The question as to how much the same conservatism exists in Korea is answered variously by various individuals. Some say that no one would care if the change were made. Some say every body would object, others still say that a few scholars would find fault and still others that few if any would detect the change. The one thing which works strongly in favor of the conservative contention is that the whole matter has not been threshed out. There are so many matters of *fact* that are yet in dispute. The two sides have not been able to find any common ground from which to argue. Some say their is a standard, others that there is none. Some believe that the change is distasteful to the great majority, others that it is welcome. Some say everyone would know the difference and others that no one would. As to the question of standard, which is a leading one, who has gone through that commonest of all native books and found whether the spelling is consistent and whether it follows any fixed law? It is usage which makes a standard, but far too little work has been done in hunting up the usage. Instead of this we hear the wild assertion that no Korean writes the native alphabet consistently. The question is

not whether any single Korean writes immaculate Korean but whether all reputable writers give a large majority of common words a common spelling. Some say they do and some that they do not. The matter ought to be proved one way or the other before we can assert that Korea has no standard of spelling. A standard does not necessarily mean a codified standard crystalized in a dictionary. It means the concensus of opinion as expressed in men's writings. We doubt whether any one knows whether there is any such concensus among Korean writers of the native script.

It is the desire of the advocates of the reform to give the people a system which will make the spelling of words absolutely phonetic so that the very sound of the word will indicate the spelling and there will be no chance of mistake. The advantages of such a system are manifest. Children will be able to learn to read more readily and writing will be a very simple matter. According to the old system the spelling of each word had to be learned separately as in English, a labor which manifestly has its disadvantages. The opponents of the change affirm that there is much more in language than mere spelling. They think that the meaning of the word should be suggested by the sight of the word itself. One gentleman made the argument that while, as a rule, each Chinese character goes to one extreme by suggesting independently its whole meaning the pure phonetic systerm would go to the other extreme and leave almost every thing to the context. As if the English words *write*, *rite* and *wright* were all spelled alike, or the words *sight*, *site* and *cite*. If these were spelled alike no one could understand them except through the context. The gentleman argued that the uniform spelling of all words that are pronounced alike would be to impoverish the language, and that a golden mean some where between an extreme phonetic simplicity which leaves everything to the context and complete verbal independence which leaves nothing to the context should be sought for. As the system now in use is such a mean, he argues that there is no call for a change; that the effort required to

memorize the spelling of words is not too high a price to pay for the added richness of the language. It should be borne in mind that the vagaries of Korean spelling are nothing so wild as those of English. The Korean has almost no silent letters. In Korean the whole matter lies in two methods of writing the letters *a*, *t* and ch, and the use of a silent *y*. These complications are enough to cause difficulty but they are simplicity itself compared with our own language. Of course it is a question of fact whether the simplifying of the spelling would impoverish the language, but it was evident in the meeting at which the matter was discussed that the advocates of the change had not given this question sufficient thought. It is just at this point that the conservative stick, for they say the question has not been thought out sufficiently for us to come to a definite conclusion that will warrant such drastic changes as those which are proposed. They might have suggested many other phases of the question that have never been brought up. For instance, what of the fact that the phonetics of every language are undergoing constant change and that even if we should force Korean spelling into its *present* phonetic form it would all be awry again in a few decades, more or less? Spelling is a stereotyped thing, a dead thing, while language itself is living and growing. It is probable that there are many phases of this question that have not as yet been so much as thought of, much less digested. What the conservatives want is that we should wait until we are sure of ourselves and sure of what we want.

It may be that the scheme of reform spelling might be improved by adding to it. To our mind one of the most glaring imperfections of the Korean alphabet is the lack of distinction betwen the long and short sound of the vowels; 눈 may be either eye or snow, 산 may be either mountain or mathematics, 김 may be steam or a gentleman's name. This is particularly true of the vowel 어 which has two separate and distinct sounds. If we are to take from the alphabet with one hand for the sake of simplicity why should we not

add to it with the other for the sake of precision? But the defenders of the reform scheme disavow any intention of making a prefect system, they want simply to eliminate a few unnecessary factors. But if we are to manipulate the alphabet in favor of the coming generations why not make a thorough job of it and give them something that *will* be approximately perfect? The conviction forces itself upon our minds that we are not ready for action yet. Neither the advocates for the scheme nor its opponents nor the men on the fence are prepared to vote on this very important and far-reaching question.

The difficulty that has been raised because of dialectic differences of pronunciation has never been properly answered. In a large section of the country the *y* is *not* silent in the vowels with the double spot and the *t* and *ch* are *not* interchangeable. We have never been told what these people will do if books are put in their hands in which the *y* is dropped and in which the *t* and the *ch* are arranged according to Seoul pronunciation. Those people could not be induced to change their pronunciation to accord with the new spelling. On the other hand all Koreans except those mentioned know that the letter *t*, with any double-spot vowel or with *i* is pronounced as *ch*. They have no difficulty about it. It is a fact that can be learned in ten minutes by any child. So far as reading is concerned the old system works well enough. When it comes to spelling, however, the new method would be simpler, but how the revisionists would commend it to that portion of the Korean people who pronounce according to the *present* spelling it is very hard to see.

There are some who hold that the lower *a* could be dropped, while they object to the other changes. In this point dialectic differences cause no trouble, for the two letters for *a* are pronounced alike the whole country over. The only argument against this change is the general one that was adduced, namely that we *need* to have words of the same sound spelled differently because they thus engage the eye independently and do not leave every-

thing to the context. Imagine a few sentenees, in English. The last *rain* was an important one, characterized by unusual severity, but on the whole salutary to the people. If he hasn't the cents to eome on thyme he ean't expeet a daze wage. Is led oar mind hear? He nose awl about the matter. These are exaggerations to be sure but they illustrate how a mere phonetie method will demand far eloser attention on the part of the reader in order to seize the meaning of a sentence than our present method does. To learn to spell means a little extra work in the beginning but it confers a lifelong benefit, in the ability it develops to grasp the writtin idea rapidly and accurately. One of the staunchest advocates of the reform spelling says that the great difficulty with a Korean text is its lack of visual perspieuity; in other words the diffieulty of grasping the meaning at a glance of the eye. Surely the similar spelling of all words that are sounded the same will add to this diffieulty and require a still more earcful eye.

After all is said, does it not eome down to this, that the reform spelling will make it easier to *write* Korean and harder to *read* it? There are thousands of people in America who can read the newspapers with perfect comprehension but who could not write a letter without a dozen mistakes in spelling on each page. Which is the more important, to read or to write? Manifestly the former. The eonservatives contend that though the proposed changes would make it a little easier to learn to read, the diffieulty would only be transferred, for the reader would always be under the necessity of a greater mental effort in reading than he would be under the present system. The difference between the two systems is something like that between a steel engraving and a painting. In the one case every effect is produced in black and white by simply shading while in the other there is the added element of color. Of course the painting is the more diffieult to produce but it is more satisfactory in the end. So, there is some diffieulty in learning to spell, but the visual element thus added gives a riehness to the text and does for it something of what eolor

does to the picture. At least there are those that think so, and until the whole question is studied into much more extensively, they think definite and binding action would be premature.

Such a change, too, is in the nature of radical amendment to a constitution and should require an overwhelming vote in its favor. A nearly unanimous vote would probably convince the minority that they were presumably wrong and the change could be made, but anything like an even division would preclude the possibility of it.

There is no one who will not sympathize with the desire to benefit the Korean people along this or any other line and the staunchest conservative would hasten to assent to any change however radical if he was once convinced of its usefulness. This question bears heavily upon the whole matter of education in Korea, and every one will hail the presentation of any plan which will secure the general consent of those who know Korea and Koreans and which will really lighten the labor either for the teacher or the taught or both.

Northeast Korea and the War.

The conundrum that is puzzling the public just at present is, What are the Russians proposing to do in Northeast Korea? The only guess that we can make is that they expect to hold their own in Harbin, keep the railroad intact all the way to the Pacific coast, defend Vladivostock against the Japanese and use the road southward from that port as a line of military operations, hoping perhaps that, when peace is discussed, they may receive in lieu of Manchuria whatever territory they may be in actual military possession of on the east coast; and thus secure an ice-free port on the Pacific. Of course this is a wild scheme, for if they win they will not be content with so little and if they lose they will bf given much less.

At any rate the presence of Russians in northeast Korea makes that region of special interest to the readers of the *Review*, and we are very fortunate to have secured a long and interesting statement of conditions in that part of the country from Rev Robt. Grierson, M.D., who has lived for some years in Sŭng-jin, the newly opened port on the northeast coast and who has travelled extensively not only in Ham-gyung and Pyeng-an Provinces but across the Tuman into Russian territory as well. The following is what he has to say about conditions in that part of the peninsula.

Those who live in southern and central Korea often have an erroneous conception of the physical characteristics and the social conditions of the north. Most foreigners think of it as a sparsely inhabited, heavily wooded and largely uncultivated wilderness where the scattered population is poor, rude, ignorant and unmannered. The climate is thought to be bleak and inhospitable and agriculture of a very primitive character.

It is with the idea of removing some of these misconceptions and giving a more correct view of these northern regions that the following considerations are submitted.

It is an error to suppose that the north is but sparsely inhabited. The coast regions all the way from Wonsan to the Tuman River abound in rice plains, some of which are of wide extent and capable of supporting a large population. Besides this, a considerable part of the people obtain a livelihood from the sea, catching the ling in enormous numbers and curing them for transport to all parts of Korea. They form, under the appropriate name *puk-ŭ*, "North fish," a staple article of food throughout the peninsula. Throughout this region the prefectural centers, or county-seats, are large walled towns where much business is done and the country is dotted with villages in every direction, no further apart than in other sections of Korea.

But it will be said by some that the mountainous regions inland must be comparatively thinly inhabited, or

at best that there are less people than tigers. Here again we find the facts quite at variance with such preconception. It is true that in the mountain regions the population is more scattered and that the county-seats have fewer houses, but here the ordinary distaste for hill-side farming, so conspicuous in some other parts of the country, is quite lacking, perhaps because there is little *but* hill-side there, and farm houses dot the landscape in every direction, sometimes even to the tops of the mountains. This makes the appearance of the face of the land very different from that of other portions of the country, where the houses are all clustered into villages and isolated houses are unknown. The landscape has more the appearance of an American rural scene, especially at night when the twinkling lights from scores of country houses scattered over the hill-sides make a brave show.

If road travel is a fair index of population, northeastern Korea must be heavily populated; for in spite of the large passenger and freight traffic on the numerous coasting steamers, one will meet as many people coming and going on the great coast road as on any other great highway in the land. The traffic on roads running from the coast into the interior is often surprising. Take for instance the road from the port of Sin-ch'ang *via* Puk-ch'ŭng to Kap-san. It is very probable that no other road in Korea can show a heavier traffic than this one. What with loads of copper ore and of oats coming out and rice, cotton goods, fish and other commodities going in, the road carries a constant stream of merchandise. A railroad that would attract this heavy passenger and freight traffic ought to be a paying investment.

One reason for the dense population in this region is because it forms a sort of "wild west" which attracts hosts of adventurous, disappointed, oppressed or indigent people who, while quite willing to work, find that in parts nearer the capital they are not able to enjoy without molestation the fruits of their own labor. This centrifugal force helps to offset the attraction (largely

imaginary) which the metropolis exerts, in Korea as elsewhere, upon the bucolic imagination.

While the margin of cultivation in other parts of Korea may have been lowering, it is undeniable that in the Kap-san and Sam-su districts it is on the rapid increase This may be accounted for in part by the fact that at the time of the China-Japan war ten years ago thousands of people from the districts particularly affected by the military operations fled from the scene of war, all of them yearning for

> a lodge in some vast wilderness
> Some contiguity of shade where rumors
> Of oppression and of war might never
> Reach me more.

In addition to this the copper mines and the gold mines attract a large number of people, for here as elsewhere every scheme for getting rich quickly has its devotees.

It must be admitted that in the most mountainous parts there are districts without population but it is doubtful whether such regions form a larger proportion of the area then in certain parts of Kang-wŭn or Whang-hă Provinces.

One would naturally suppose that on the north-eastern outskirts of the Kingdom there would be an abundance of timber, and concessions made to Russians some years ago for cutting timber near the Tuman tend to strengthen this idea, but the truth of the case is that such extensive timber tracts do not exist. The Korean is the same in every latitude. The splendid timber that must have once clothed the hills has now almost vanished, having been squandered by past generations. One can travel all the way from Wonsan to the Tuman without seeing any timber that will excite more admiration than certain groves within ten miles of Seoul, always excepting the famous and beautiful sea-side grove, three miles in length, in the town of I-wŭn; and this remains only because it is preserved under heavy penalties. New settlers have been accustomed to burn down the forests for the double purpose of clearing the land and

of fertilizing it with the ashes. This naturally ensures good crops at first, which are so essential to the pioneer. They reason, quite logically, that the timber is useless. There is no local demand for it and the cost of getting it to the coast is prohibitive. One could hardly expect them to exhibit enough altruism to be willing to wait until railroads tap the region and make transportation possible, even if they knew the difference between a railroad and a bicycle—which is not the case. It must be remembered that on the east coast there are no rivers on which timber can be rafted to the sea.

In the Kap-san, Sam-su and Ma-san regions there is plenty of timber, of a sort, among the hills. Most common are a kind of evergreen black fir called *kŭ-mun-pi* and a deciduous fir called *ik-kal*. Both of these are good, shapely trees but the wood does not appear to be of a very durable nature. There are few or none of the hard woods, especially maple, which make the landscape on the western side of the peninsula so gorgeous in Fall. And yet the *ik-kal* tree is very pretty. The groves of these turn golden yellow, as the needles die before falling; and they give a brilliant touch of color to the landscape. Those that grow near houses give scope for the exercise of the peoples' aesthetic tastes, for they are frequently trimmed into quaint pagoda or other shapes and are sure to attract the eye of the wayfarer. Besides these trees there is a sprinkling of spruce and of the common scrubby oak. It will probably surprise the readers of the *Review* to know that the ordinary pine which is so common throughout other parts of Korea is entirely absent from these northern mountain districts.

In regard to the cultivation of the soil, it is as general as anywhere else in the peninsula. Along the coast we find the same crops as are grown elsewhere; millet, rice, beans, barley, sorghum, hemp, etc. Among the mountains immense quantities of oats, wheat and potatoes are raised. Near the Chinese border genuine cabbages and yellow turnips are largely grown. The mountainous nature of the country affords a much larger area for cultivation than the flat surface of a map would

indicate. The people "turn the land up on edge and farm both sides." It is a glorious picture which you may see in mid-Autumn from any considerable elevation. The enormous area sown to oats and wheat is then revealed by its golden yellow, and one can form some conception of the thrift and energy of these northern farmers and can estimate where the margin of cultivation is. In many a case it lies right on the sky line. The steepest hillsides wave with grain and often it climbs to the very mountain tops. One simply wonders where the people are who can till and consume such crops.

The staple food of these people is oats, boiled whole, and eaten as rice is in other parts of the country.. The kernel is harder than that of rice and is more difficult to digest. New comers are always troubled for months with indigestion and diarrhoea before they can get accustomed to this hardy food.

Considered socially these northern people are by no means the ignorant boors that they have sometimes been painted. So far as book learning goes they average very well with Koreans in other parts, and as for manners they are no whit behind the dwellers in the districts near the capital. Nor will it do to think of them as poor. There is some evidence, indeed, that they are better off on the average than the people in the south. For instance, in the town of Tan-ch'ŭn tiled houses are much more numerous than thatched houses. This refers not to the county seat merely but to the houses of the country-side. We doubt if the same could be said of many districts in Korea.

In the mountain regions of the north the houses are larger and more commodious than in most parts of Korea. Timber is locally cheap and is used lavishly. The houses are not built about a court and but one kan deep but are built solid, two kan deep and five or six kan long. A typical house would be arranged as follows. It is, say, two kan (sixteen feet) wide, and five kan (forty feet) long. At one end are found the *an-pang* or "inner room" and the *sarang* or "parlor" each two kan long and one wide, running the long way of the house. Doors

open from each of these into the next compartment which is two kan running right across the house. It has a kang floor and in this floor on one edge are set the kettles with fire-places underneath. The fire passes under the floor and then under the *an-pang* and *sarang*. It is this floor where the pots and kettles are that forms the ordinary living room of the family. The next compartment is of two kan and has a dirt floor only. It is the kitchen, and is not separated from the living room by any partition. Between this and the next, and final, compartment are the troughs from which the cattle eat. The cooked food for the cattle can therefore be easily transferred directly from the kettles to the troughs. In the last compartment are the cattle, separated from the house proper by no partition, but only by the eating troughs to which they are tied. The whole establishment is therefore under a single roof and the odors are almost stifling. The reason for keeping the animals in the house is two-fold, one being the need of keeping them warm in the severe winter and the other, which is less to the point than formerly, is the necessity for protecting them from wild beasts. These houses are always kept inordinately warm because hard wood is used for fuel and the fires are kept going at full blast. The flues beneath the floor carry off the smoke ordinarily but some dishes are cooked by simply building a fire beneath a skillet, the smoke escaping into the room. This would cause serious inconvenience were it not that there is a hole through the roof directly over the place where this cooking is done. In the winter time or during heavy rains a mat is drawn over this aperture to keep in the heat or keep out the rain. The whole establishment seems to be a development from the aboriginal tepee, wigwam or *yourta* and forms in itself an interesting object for ethnological comparison.

The floor of the *sarang* or "parlor" is ordinarily used as a place to dry oats and if a chance guest arrives he has to wait until many bushels of grain have been cleared away before he can settle down for the night.

The character of the people in these distant regions is stronger and more virile than that of Koreans in the

south. They have more pluck, more independence of character and a greater readiness to resent insult or injury. They have little patience with dishonest officials and the readiness and unanimity with which they resort to mob law to defeat the machinations of local squeezers is truly engaging. Many interesting stories might be told of how such schemes have been checked in the bud. Even government troops are held up or put to flight by these determined people, as was illustrated in 1900 when the people of Kil-ju disarmed and locked up a body of troops that had been sent to work the Imperial will in opposition to the wishes of the populace.

Northeastern Korea has two climates: (1) The coast climate, which, on account of the proximity to the sea, differs very little from that of central Korea, and (2) the inland climate on the water-shed plateau which has a very long and severe winter. In certain sheltered places, near dwellings, ice has been seen as late as June. Snow begins to fall early in November.

Fifteen or twenty years ago tigers were very common throughout this section but now there are comparatively few. The people explain this on the ground that the tigers have been frightened away by the whistle of the coasting steamers. The older houses have the windows provided with cleats so that heavy wooden shutters could be put up at night to keep tigers out.

This territory in the north cannot be an easy one in which to carry on military operations. At last accounts the Japanese forces had reached Ham-hung. The Russians meanwhile are making Sung-jin their headquarters and keeping detatchments out to the south to keep in touch with the enemy. The road between these two places is a difficult one to fight over. The people have done a good deal of work on it during the past year but the passes are still very hard to cross and impassable even now for guns of any considerable weight. There are four passes of considerable altitude between Ham-hung and Sung-jin. They are found where the road crosses bold spurs that are thrown out from the great central range and come right down to the sea. The

names of these four are Ham-gwan Pass, Tŭ-deul Pass ("Slow Pass,") Tung-geul Pass ("Twistey-wise Pass") and Ma-chŭn Pass ("Heaven-toucher"). The road crosses none of these at an altitude of less than a thousand feet above sea-level.

The Russian forces are all cavalry, so that should the Japanese land in their rear they could not be cut off, but might retire by any of the numerous roads running inland and regain their line of communication by a circuitous route. The Russians have established telegraphic communication between Sung-jin and Vladivostock and have made good military roads all the way from the north, blasting out the worst places in the mountains, so that they can probably bring fairly heavy artillery as far south as Sung-jin. Between Sung-jin and Possiet Bay, beyond the Tuman, the passes are not nearly so high as those south of Sung-jin, and they present comparatively few difficulties to the transportation of artillery. The best road out of Kyŭng-sŭng, near the Tuman, is an interior one leading up to the large river towns on the Tuman and this would make it difficult for the Japanese to cut communications by landing north of Kyŭng-sŭng.

The Koreans in the northeast are inclined to be pro-Russian in their sympathies. Very many of them have been to Vladivostock and have seen some of the material evidences of Western power, while they judge Japan only by the small settlements in Korea. Many of them speak a little Russian and in the border districts many people have relatives who are naturalized Russians. When the people saw the Japanese retire from Sung-jin, the port burned, and the Russians passing on toward Wonsan with impunity, they were confirmed in their opinion. That opinion may soon be materially modified.

Koreans claim that the boundary of north-eastern Korea formerly extended far beyond the Tuman River, by virtue of the conquests of a certain General Im; so that in selling the Ussuri district to Russia China actually sold a part of Korea. A better Korean claim is that a certain island in the Tuman belongs to Korea. At present the southern branch of the river forms the boundary

but Koreans claim that the old pillars are still there as land-marks to show where the boundary is. An international commission went up there to investigate the matter in 1903 and we believe they reported in Korea's favor. But the transfer has not been yet made.

What will be the effect on northeast Korea if Japan wrests Vladivostock from Russia and holds the whole stretch of coast from Saghalien to Fusan? Take out the Russians and you will find that this whole territory is inhabited only by Koreans. The boundaries of Korea may be shifted to the Arctic regions, especially as there would most likely be a large emigration of Koreans to the Primorsk. Shall we look forward to an eastern Austria-Hungary or United States of the Orient inclosing the Sea of Japan as an imperial lake—a Japanese-Korean Empire? Such seems more likely than an Egypt-like protectorate. The present guaranteed independence of Korea under the patronage of Japan, a dual monarchy under a single empire! Such an empire could become one of the strongest ever seen. All products of river, sea, mountain, forest and plain, from arctic through temperate to sub-tropical climes, would be her's. She would be completely self-contained and her heart would be protected from a vital blow, in her island stronghold.

The beginning of a railway to Wonsan is prophetic and indicates that Japan has not left north-eastern Korea and its future out of her calculations.

ROBERT GRIERSON.

Editorial Comment.

The *Kobe Chronicle*, in a resent issue, agreed substantially with our remarks about Japanese projects in Korea but stated incidentally that the moral principles laid down as guides in international relations are open to a good deal of question. The *Chronicle* says that we excused Japan's forcing this scheme upon Korea on the ground that whereas a country might be justified in

delaying the development of her mineral resources under the plea that they are definitely limited in extent, such an argument cannot be urged in excuse for allowing arable land to lie permanently fallow, for by so doing she deprives the world of a permanent source of food supply without benefitting herself. It is just here that we find fault with the method of criticism adopted by the Editor of the *Chronicle*. We never justified Japan's aggressive action on this or any other ground. We laid down the general principle that every country included in the family of treaty powers owes it to the family to develop its resources, and we added that this applies more fittingly to agricultural than to mineral resources because the former are perennial while the latter are strictly limited. We also said that, sentimental consideration apart, the law of the survival of the fittest would work inexorably to the extinction of Korean autonomy. Much may be said for the North American Indian but he could not permanently block the way for progress. If a nation persistently refuses to develop its agricultural and other resources, we say that someone else will do it for her, moral or any other considerations to the contrary notwithstanding. We never condoned the manner in which Japan approached the question. We very clearly opposed the methods adopted and showed their futility. We repeat emphatically that there has come to be such a thing as International-Eminent Domain and when a majority or any considerable number of powers unite to say a thing shall be done, it *is* done irrespective of the private rights of individual powers, since it is for the good of the greatest number. To say that a power does not surrender any of its individual rights in joining the federation of the world is as foolish as to say a man does not surrender any individual rights when he becomes the member of a firm or the party to a contract.

The method of criticism which quotes a writer's words and then states that they were intended to prove something quite different from the writer's express intention hardly commends itself to our sense of fairness. The reason why a thing is done does not by any means form

its justification. We would ask the *Chronicle* whether we did not state, in the very article from which it quotes, that Korea *owes* Japan *nothing* but an attitude of friendly receptivity. Of course the *Chronicle* will not answer this question, but we commend it to those who, out of a very praise-worthy sympathy for Korea, have accused us of being too strongly pro-Japanese. On general principles we *do* believe in people who have energy, enterprise, courage, thrift and perseverance, and we believe that Japan has a moral right to see established in the Peninsula an administration which shall be friendly to her and shall secure her from all fear that any other power shall ever use Korea as a hostile *point d'appui* against her. We may, and we do, criticize some of the methods employed in effecting this, as being injurious to Korea and detrimental to the best interests of Japan but we deliberately and expressly refuse to take a position sweepingly condemnatory of Japan's attitude toward this country. Japan is not the first nation that has had to learn by experiment how to do things, and it is greatly to her credit that in spite of an intense national pride, which for the time being has been naturally exaggerated by remarkable military and naval achievements she has been willing to modify very materially plans to which she was publicly committed but which proved to be somewhat premature.

We join with all other friends of Korea in urging that the Japanese authorities place in the fore-front of their Korean policy the scrupulous preservation of the rights of individual Koreans as against private Japanese. It would pay Japan enormously to make it strikingly evident to the Korean people that if a single dollar's worth of property is wrongly appropriated or if a single blow is wantonly struck by any Japanese the Korean shall have swift and exemplary justice. At present Koreans complain that the Japanese authorities are very slow to do them justice. The lowest coolie in the land ought to be able to bring before a Japanese official any Japanese who offers him the slightest injury and the Japanese authorities should see to it that the

Koreans be encouraged to bring every such case up for trial. What does civilization mean if it be not the preservation of individual rights and how can the Japanese commend themselves more highly to the Korean people as a whole than by showing them that Japanese influence in this country will mean equal justice to all? Oh, if we could only find words to prove to the Japanese that they could weld to themselves the affection of the Korean people as by bands of steel, if they would only demonstrate that their influence here will do away with the *fear of man*. A Korean gets in your way and you cuff him out of your path; a moment later you meet a Japanese coolie and you give him his half of the road. Why is it? It is because you know that that coolie has the ability to *uphold his right* to half the road. Let the Japanese give and guarantee to every Korean his right to half the road and access to swift redress in case it is not granted and this country would be transformed. What Koreans need is self-respect and they can never gain it unless they are given immunity from gratuitous insult. This applies to high and low alike. There is no Korean official who is sure that a turn of fortune's wheel might not see him publicly whipped or see him tramping the streets in a chain-gang. There is no merchant who is sure that his capital or stock may not be wantonly confiscated. There is no common Korean in the land who would dream of walking up single-handed to a court of justice and demanding judgment against a wealthy and influential man who has cheated or maltreated him. The curse of Korea is the *fear of man* and until the Japanese do way with that, there will be nothing but treachery and suspicion. What if this does require a heavy reinforcement of the Japanese Consular body? A few months of such procedure would show the Koreans what they might count upon in the way of justice and it would show the Japanese residents of Korea that they cannot cuff and kick the Koreans about at pleasure. The cure once effected, there would be less need of extra courts. In no way could Japan expend money in the peninsula with surer prospect of

heavy returns. Hardly a day passes but we are approached by Koreans asking us to help them to get a hearing so that injustice that has been done them may be righted. We tell them to take their cases directly to the Japanese authorities, but they shrug their shoulders and go sadly away. Why is it? Because if all Koreans who have been wronged were to apply for redress the Japanese have no legal machinery sufficient in extent to cope with even a fraction of them. But the greater the number of cases the more absolute is the necessity that they should be handled, for every case works two evils, it confirms the Korean in the hoplessness of his case and it confirms the Japanese in his contempt of the Korean; and so the breach will widen and widen until Japan will find that the only practical solution of the problem is the extinction of the Korean people and the peninsula will become a second Finnland. But we believe better things of Japan and we have high hopes that such counsels will prevail that the Japanese will strike at fundamental evils in Korea and establish their influence on the firm basis of equity and justice. This may not come until after the fever of war has subsided but it will come in time.

Our statement that the margin of cultivation in Korea is lowering has met with a certain degree of contradication on the part of foreigners living in the interior. It is so seldom that the *Review* is favored with an expression of opinion on the part of any foreigner in regard to any matter whatever, that we are pleased to obtain even this adverse criticism. The evidence of those who have "been there" is of course better than that of those who have merely "heard about it" and we accept without reserve the statement that in the regions where these foreigners have been the margin of cultivation has been going up rather than down. If the reader sees fit to accept these regions as typical of the whole country he will conclude that more land is under cultivation than was the case ten years ago, but we have heard nothing from the foreigners about the land in Clul-la Province where the greatest falling off is claimed and where rice is supposed to grow to the broadest extent. We should be glad indeed

to believe that Koreans are developing their latent agricultural resources and shall welcome any evidence that goes to prove it.

We feel sure that our readers will be deeply interested in Dr. Grierson's article on north-east Korea in this issue of the *Review*. We confess that the facts here given were, many of them, a surprise. It appears that northern Korea contains a large population of hardy and independent people, that the soil is well cultivated, that the stories of swarming tigers are a myth, that the country is not an almost unbroken forest, that wealth and intelligence and courtesy are not the exception. We commend this article to our readers as showing how much more valuable a source of information this magazine might become if those who know things would communicate that knowledge, not for the sake of the magazine but for the sake of the public.

The military executions which recently took place have caused considerable comment among foreigners in Korea. It is well understood by the foreign population that the Japanese have declared military law for the time being, and that the culprits were legally executed, but we doubt whether the Koreans are fully aware of the danger of committing acts which in times of peace would receive comparatively light punishment. In our opinion the Japanese ought to be careful to see that the common people are fully informed as to the meaning of martial law in order that such painful incidents may be averted in the future. It is true that one striking example like that which has occurred will do more to teach the people than anything else, but it is a great pity that it was deemed necessary to teach the lesson in such a drastic way.

News Calendar.

On Aug. 31 Yun Chi-ho, Min Sang-ho and Mr. Hagiwara met to determine upon a site for a pleasure ground or a sort of Club for Japanese and Koreans. The Tă-gwan-jŭng opposite the Imperial Alter was selected and has been arranged for this purpose.

A committee of twelve generals was appointed on Aug. 31 to take charge of the reorganization of the Korean Army along lines suggested by the Japanese. The Seoul guard will probably be lowered from 10,000 to some 2,000 men.

Reports from Kang-neung, on the eastern coast about opposite Seoul, indicate that the recent typhoon caused a good deal of damage. Fifty fishing boats were wrecked. The waves were so high that the Koreans were astounded. Many houses along the coast were unrooted or entirely demolished.

The town of Kyo-ha near the mouth of the Han River was the scene of some excitement about the end of August. The Japanese agents arrived and proceeded to search for coolies to take north. About twenty were enrolled but an enormous crowd assembled and began to act in a threatening manner. When armed Japanese appeared the people fled but eight ring leaders of the mob were arrested.

The Superintendent of Masampo reports that the typhoon was very destructive, 376 houses being destroyed, seven men killed, fourteen boats swept away and enormous damage of other kinds done. He asks that help be rendered, taxes remitted and the destitute cared for. In Chŭlla Province the damage done was without precedent. Rice fields, hemp fields and cotton lands were destroyed wholesale. Along the coast it is estimated that the destruction of fields totalled three-tenths of the whole area.

Cho Min-heui the Minister to Japan asks that the Yen 6,000 to cover the running expenses of the legation for the year be paid out of Customs receipts.

Sin Keui-sŭn has taken the place of Sim Sang-bun as vice-Prime Minister.

Min Pyŭng-han has been made Judge of the Supreme Court in place of Yun Tŭk-yŭng.

A fire broke out on the 13th of September in a building in the palace that is being rebuilt but it was put out before it became serious.

The month of September saw several conventions and meetings in Seoul. In the first place there was a week of Bible Study which was attended by a large number of missionaries from various parts of the country, and this innovation was voted such a success that it is to be repeated next year. Next came the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of Protestant missions in Korea. Thursday the 22nd of September was devoted to this purpose and several meetings

were held. Addresses were made by Rev. W. B. Scranton, M. D., Rev. S. A. Moffett, D. D., Rev. Robt. Grierson, M. D., Rev. G. Engel, Rev. H. G. Underwood, D. D., and others.

A third meeting of some interest was one that was called for the purpose of discussing publicly the matter of spelliug reform in Korea. A lively discussion took place and it was found that there was no great unanimity of opinion in regard to the matter.

A fourth event was the meeting of the Council of the Presbyterian Churches in Korea at which the questiou of reform spelling was further discussed.

The Annual Meetings of the Presbyterian Missions North and South and of the Methodist Mission South took place almost simultaneously. We note with pleasure that both the Presbyterian missions have been handsomely reinforced since their last annual meetiugs. Dr. Hirst has come to work in the new Severance Memorial Hospital. and Rev. Mr. Pieters has returned with his wife from America. The Southern Mission has three new medical workers, Dr. Nolan, Dr. Forsythe and Dr. Daniel. An important step was taken by the Northern Mission in deciding to open a new station in Ch'ŭng-ju in Ch'ung-ch'ŭng Province.

At the same time came the annual meeting of the Korean Religious Tract Society. At the end of the meeting subscriptions were called for in order to start a fund for building a suitable edifice in Seoul for the use of this important organization. The sum of Yen 5,000 was pledged by the people in the audience and this together with what will be given from the home country will secure the object sought.

One importaut and happy event of the month which we must not fail to mention was the weddiug of Mr. Hugh Miller and Miss Nellie Pierce which took place iu the Mead Memorial Church ou the 21st, the Autumnal Equinox. The ceremony was performed by Rev. S. A. Beck assisted by Mr. J. S. Gale, D. D. It was followed by a delightful reception at the I-wha School.

On Sept. 13th 300 Pyeug Yang soldiers were sent from Pyeng Yang to Sam-deung to disperse the *tonghaks* that had congregated there.

Owing to the establishmeut of the Il-chin Society many people came up from the country to see what was going on aud perhaps to participate in any fun that might be on the tapis. When the police saw such people at the inns in Seoul they advised them strongly to go back to their country homes.

A curious story comes from Chi-nan in Chulla Proviuce. Many people there were reduced by famine to eating the bark of trees and pine leaf soup but, wonderful to relate, they found a kiud of food growing on bamboo trees on Sun-gak and Tuk-tă mountains and they subsisted upon it till the crops had ripeued. The people believe that the prefect sent up several measures of this "manua" to the Emperor.

Kim Ka-jin has been appointed Minister of Law in place of Pak Che-sun, resigned.

On September 15th the people of Si-heuug, teu miles south of Seoul, arose in revolt against the prefect, Pak U-yang, because he had witheld six million cash, about Yen 1,200, which should have been distributed among the people. It was a very determined crowd and it attacked the prefect's quarters about eleven o'clock in the morning. The accounts of how the crime was committed differ but so far as evidence that we can gather goes the prefect was not burued to death but was beateu and trampled upon until he expired. His son, nineteen years old, tried to protect his father and so was also struck down and killed. Meanwhil- many of the people of the town had run away leaving their houses unprotected ; the excited crowd scattered and broke into mauy of the houses and took what they wanted. Several of the houses were burned. Word had been carried to the Japanese who were working on the railroad in the vicinity. A small body of these soou arrived upon the scene and tried to stop the riot but they in turu were attacked and two of them were killed. No one could possibly condone the action of the mob but it must be confessed they had a serious grievance and no way to obtain redress except by violeuce. It is much to be regretted that the prefect and his son and the two Japauese were killed aud we hope the leaders of the mob will be puuished, but this ought to be au object lesson to the Japanese as showiug what a Korean crowd is capable of when once aroused

The Foreigu Office requested the Japanese authorities to punish a Japanese soldier who while under the influence of liquor attacked and injured a Korean gendarme near the Su-gak Bridge on the 15th of September.

The governor of North Ch'ung-chūng Province seut a report to the Home Office on the 19th of September saying that thousauds of *Tonghaks* were in his jurisdiction aud were deuanding that they be given a part of the power of government aud were declaring that the central goverment had lost its hold upon the people. He asks what he shall do under such conditions. In many districts they claim that they now have power to pay back unrighteous prefects aud other meu of influence who have oppressed them.

The foreigners in Seoul have established an Educational Association with Rev. H. G. Underwood, D. D., as Presideut, with a view to preparing text-books and doing whatever else may forward the cause of education in Korea. Many committees have been appointed to prepare glossaries of the terms used in the differeut sciences. When this is done an important obstacle to the making of uuiform text-books will be removed.

About the first of September the new Society called Il-chiu-whe or "Single Advance Society" began to propagate its principles, the main one of which seems to have been the education and enlightenment of the people and the advocacy of a natioual spirit. This they said would mean more for Korea's advancement and success than mauy gun boats. They advocated (1) the stability of the Imperial House,

(2) the security of life and property, (3) the carrying out of Korea's promises to Japan to reform the administration of the Government and correct exiting abuses, (4) to reorganize the army and the currency. On September 1st a great meeting was held at Chong-no and speeches were made. Japanese Gendarmes lent their protection and allowed no one but members of the organization to enter the building. For this reason the people believed that the society was a pro-Japanese one and consequently its influence was very small. It tried to exert influence by persuading Sin Keui-sŏn to accept the vice Prime-Minister's portfolio, which the Emperor had offered him but which he had declined. He did so and for a time he helped the new society but he soon gave it up.

On September 2nd a Mudang near the "Water Gate" was seized, dressed in her professional clothes, taken all about the city with her face daubed with red and white paint and with her professioual instruments carried by a servant This was a deadly disgrace and all the Mudang class were in consternation. At last she was stripped of her Mudang garments and driven away in her under garments alone, and all the clothes, instruments, etc., were burned on the big street.

Om Chun-wŭn has been made the head of a monopoly which is to handle all the cow-hide business in Korea. Just what this means it is hard to say, but we may be sure that it will not work to the detriment of Mr. Om's private purse.

Mr. Megata, the new adviser to the Finance Department arrived in Seoul at the end of September. We understand he intends to make a close study of financial conditions iu Korea before beginning active work.

This is a good augury of success and it helps to disprove the statements of those who claim that the Japanese think they know it all.

It is reported that the ginseng crop in Sougdo is a failure this year, and that only four per cent will be harvested. Now ginseng is a plant that is grown by hand and the weather has little or nothing to do with the weather. We make the guess that interested parties have already pulled the crop and put it in a safe place.

Yi Pom-jin, the very pertiuacious Minister to Russia, was notified several times that his removal from the Russian Court was desired, but he refused to comply. He has therefore been dismissed.

On September 5th forty-five men out of 146 condidates were selected to go to Japan to study. Many of these were very undesirable men, some of whom were being forced to go and others were running away without the knowledge of their families. The Minister of Education refused to send them and determined to make a new selection but the Japanese papers attacked the Minister on the ground that he wanted to send only *yangbans*, so the men already selected were retained.

The Foreign Office asked the Japanese to remove the signs that they set up all about between the city and the river to the effect that this was land required for military purposes and must not be sold. The

Japanese replied that the land would eventually be required and refused to comply.

A drunken Japanese wantonly attacked a Korean policeman outside the South Gate. The Mayor of Seoul asked the Japanese authorities to punish the man but they replied that he had run away and could not be found.

The Governor at Pyeng Yang announced to the Foreign Office that the Japanese have demanded a part of the land set apart for the Imperial Palace in Pyeng Yang for the Railway station and asks that a strong protest be made.

The new Mayor of Seoul, Kim Chŭng-geun, has made a pretty clean sweep of the sorceresses and fortune tellers. A large quantity of their books, pictures, instruments, garments, knives, spears, drums etc., etc., were burned in front of the Mayor's office early in September.

It is reported that the receipts of the Seoul-Chemulpo Railway for the half year were yen 258,598.74.

Yi Yong-t'ă has been appointed Minister of the Household in the place of Min Pyung-suk.

About the tenth of September a serious affray occurred in Kong-ju where the people rose in revolt against the magistrate, stoned the yamen, attacked and wounded the magistrate with knives but did not kill him. Soldiers were sent there and the people quieted down but the leaders of the attack were not arrested. It is said that Japanese troops will be sent there to preserve order.

The Minister of Education and other officials went to Chemulpo to attend the graduation exerises in a large Japanese school for Koreans about the 10th of September.

Chang Seung-wŭn has been appointed Governor of North Kyŭng-sang Province, and in North Ham-gyŭng Province a Military Governor, Chŏng Keui-t'ăk, has taken the place of the civil Governor Yi Yun-jă because of the military operations in that section of the country.

His Majesty suffered for some days from a throat trouble during September but is now nearly well.

A new club has beeu formed called the Tă-tong-ku-ak-pu or "The Great Eastern club." It is for the purpose of bringing Koreans and Japanese into social relations with each other. The opening of the club took place on September 25 at the Tă-gwŏn-jŭng, which will be used as a club-house.

It is with great regret that we have to record the death of the infant son of Rev. and Mrs. Preston, of Mokpo. It took place in Seoul on the 20th of September.

On September 21st a Japanese Captain, eight gendarmes and forty soldiers took three Koreans who had tampered with the railway and shot them near Mapo. One of the Koreans was from A-o-gă near Seoul, one from Yang-ju and one from near Mapo. The charge was that they had pulled up some of the track on a military railway in Korea. The charge was doubtless true. The Koreans claimed that the

road ran across their fields which had not been paid for and they tore up the track in retaliation. No foreigners witnessed the execution but thousands of Koreans saw it and it will probably prevent any more acts of the kind. One of the Koreans was shot eight times before he finally expired.

A Japanese who kept a Korean school in Chang-heung, Chulla Province, disappeared and after four days one of the scholars found his body hanging from a tree. He is supposed to have committed suicide.

A special prefect was appointed to investigate the trouble in Si-heung where the prefect was killed by the mob. Japanese troops went there and seized seven mob leaders and brought them to Seoul.

The Koreans have discovered a new way of getting even with an enemy. They simply denounce him to the Japenese as a Russian spy. This is sure to land him in durance vile, for a few weeks at least, until the matter is investigated. A special case has been brought to our notice lately. A man of some means but entirely ignorant of letters was employed in connection with the culinary department in the palace. An enemy of his told the Japanese that he was a Russian spy and was in communication with the Russians. He was seized, all his papers including valuable deeds and promissory notes were taken, but nothing of an incriminating nature was discovered. Still he is in confinement and no one knows when he will be liberated. Meanwhile all his interests are suffering, including his reputation. If he is discharged, who will make good these losses which he has suffered, on the merest suspicion?

On account of the fall of Liaoyang the Japanese in Korea held a mighty celebration. The triumphal arches, the waving flags, the processions, the lanterns, the vociferous "banzais" all gave evidence of the national enthusiasm.

A Korean company has been organized with a capital of $30,000 to establish a great national newspaper called the *Kuk-min-sin-mun* or "The National People's Newspaper." It is said that the government favors the undertaking and so far the Japanese have made no objection.

Many students have been selected for the new School of Industry, Agriculture and Commerce, which bids fair to take an important place in the educational field in Korea.

Won U-sang, one of the strongest men in government circles, finding that his advice was neglected and that of political adventurers was being listened to, has left the capital and gone to the country. This is one of the worst signs of the time.

The government has ordered the students who were sent to Russia to remove to Berlin. From there they will probably return to Korea.

Many Tonghaks gathered in Sam-deung about 420 *li* northwest of Seoul and threatened to move on the capital but later they heard that Japanese troops were facing in their direction and so they "folded their tents like the Arabs and as silently stole. away."

The Japanese commanding officer at An-ju announced to the governor of North Pyeng-an that five men (names appended) in Heui-ch'un

had helped the Russians at the time of their late raid and had given information about Japanese movements. He therefore said that these men would be taken to An-ju and shot. This was done.

Four thousand six hundred yen are to be expended upon the roads in and near Song-do.

Four Koreans who graduated from a military school in Japan were taken to the front by the Japanese military authorities and they there exhibited such a disposition to fight that they were given small commands and fought all the way from the Yalu to Liao-yang, but were not in the great battle which delivered that city into the hands of the Japanese. They were highly complimented by the Japanese commanders.

His Excellency A. Monaco, the Italian Minister, left Seoul for Peking early in October for a month's stay. Before going he was given a first-class decoration by the Korean Emperor.

The government has asked the Japanese to designate particularly the exact portions of land which they need for military purposes between Seoul and the Han River.

It is said that the Japanese will take prompt steps to survey for a railway between Seoul and Wonsan and that the work will be begun as soon as possible.

Yi Yong-tai has been appointed Minister of the Home Office in place of Cho Pyung-p'il.

The members of the Il-chin Society once and for all proved their greatness by cutting off their hair but it turned out that like Samson, the loss of their hair got them into trouble, for they fell under the contempt of the people and the authorities turned against them. Many were imprisoned, but they were again released and at the present time are finding fault with the government on several scores. The whole thing is quite contemptible and the great mass of the Korean public knows it.

On Sept. 24th a new society was launched upon the stormy sea of Korean politics. It is called the Kuk-nin or *National People's Society*. This organization probably has the sanction of the highest Korean authorities and was designed to act as an offset to the Il-chin Society. It has five principles (1) to uphold the Imperial House, (2) to cause a better state of feeling between the upper and lower classes, (3) the fostering of friendly relations with foreign Powers, (4) to uphold domestic and international law, (5) to watch against men who have fled the country, tonghaks any others who threaten the State.

A number of detectives have been chosen to go to the country and discover how things stand in the disaffected districts.

Now that the army is being reorganized the Board of Generals will be abolished and the power centralized in the War Department.

The committee appointed to effect reforms in the army has recommended among other things the establishment of an arsenal. We trust the Japanese will see to it that better advice than this will be followed. Enough money has been wasted on new ventures. It had better be spent on making some of the old ones a success.

It has been brought to our notice that the *Japan Gazette* has quoted once or twice from the *Korea Daily News* and credited it to the *The Korea Review*. We are sure that this must be merely an oversight on the part of the *Gazette* but we hope that the editor of that paper will be careful to give the *Daily News* the credit of any matter quoted from that journal.

Mr. Oura the Japanese Minister of Communication is making a visit to Seoul. Much good will evidently be done if leading Japanese officials visit Korea and see the conditions existing here. We wish more of them would come.

The Emperor ordered the liberation of all prisoners younger than 15 years and older than 70. This occurred on September 3rd.

The Emperor's birthday fell on September 4th but on account of the Court being in mourning for the Empress Dowager there were no considerable festivities. The foreign representatives and employees were received at a quiet audience in the Ton-dŭck Hall.

The general opinion among Koreans is that the rice crop this year will be somewhat below a medium point. This, together with the unusually good crop in Japan, may affect the export figures to some extent. At any rate the price of old rice has not fallen, as is customary at this season.

The Home Office has announced to every prefecture that the selection of Korean coolies for work in Manchuria has been discontinued and he orders that all agitation on that score should cease.

The Superintendent of Trade at Pyeng Yang has sent to Seoul strongly protesting against the absorption of government ground by Korean Catholics for the purpose of building a church near the Imperial palace. He asks that the French authorities be appealed to stop this work. The charge is that to certain land which the Roman Catholics have bought they have added a certain tract belonging to the government and to which they have no claim. We have not heard the other side of the story, which might put a very different complexion upon the affair.

On September 5th the Japanese Minister said to the government that if Korea was not be prepared to establish a consulate in Hawaii she should put the matter into the hands of the Japanese Consulate there. The matter has not been settled.

Forty-five men have at last been found who will go to Japan to study. It is said the Minister of Education will go to Japan to look into the matter of education there.

All these things crowded so thick and fast upon each other that there was scarcely breathing space between them, but the rare intervals were improved by several games of base ball, all of which were rather ragged but great fun nevertheless. In the first one the Seoul nine was defeated by the "Countrymen" by a score of twelve to ten, though it must be confessed that there is some uncertainty about the exact score. In the second game the American soldiers beat a team chosen from among the foreign residents by a score of seventeen to fourteen, and

a second game resulted in a win for the residents against the soldiers by thirteen to six.

It is with great pleasure that we note the return to Seoul of Rev. W. B. Scranton, M.D., and family. Mrs. M. F. Scranton also returns to resume work among the women. We congratulate the foreign community and especially the Korean church upon this happy event.

The foreign children's school has resumed work, under the superintendence of Miss Scranton, and bids fair to be an even more flourishing concern than ever. There are twenty-one children enrolled.

The Governor of South Ham-gyung telegraphed on the 26th of September that the Japanese and Russians had fought a small engagement near Tŭk-wun and that the Russians had retired.

On September 26th an Imperial Edict put an end to the Il-chin Society. The reason for this is said to be as follows. The Governor of South Pyeng An Province sent an urgent message saying that the tonghaks in Pun-ch'ŭn, Măng-sau, Youg-dŭk and Yŏng-yu were making Il-chin Society flags and claiming that they were members of that society and that many of them had gone up to Seoul to take part in the proceedings. It began to look as if the society were assuming too large proportions.

Hong Seung-nok of Yŭng-byŭn has been shot by the Japanese for stealing one of the electric batteries connected with the telegraph office in that place.

News from Kok-san seems to indicate that serious trouble has arisen. In the riots which have occurred both Koreans and Japanese have been killed. Japanese troops have been despatched to that town. If the Japanese have to send troops to every town where there are local disturbances it is likely to require a considerable army.

KOREAN HISTORY.

The Summer and Autumn of this year 1896 saw the promulgation of a large number of edicts of a salutary nature, relating to the more systematic collection of the national revenues, the reorganization of gubernatorial and prefectural systems, the definition of the powers and privileges of provincial officials, the further regulation of the postal system, the definition of the powers of the superintendents of trade in the open ports, the abolition of illegal taxation and the establishment of courts of law in the various provinces and in the open ports. As many of these reforms survived the collapse of the liberal party they must be set down as definite results which justify the existence of that party and make its overthrow a matter of keen regret to those who have at heart the best interests of the country.

All this time Russian interests had been cared for sedulously. The king remained in close touch with the Legation and Col. Potiata and three other Russian officers were put in charge of the Palace Guard, while Kim Hongnyuk, the erstwhile water-carrier, continued to absorb the good things in the gift of His Majesty. And yet the Russians with all their power did not attempt to obstruct the plans of the subjects of other Powers in Korea. Mr. Stripling, a British subject, was made adviser to the Police Department, a mining concession was granted to a German syndicate; an American was put in charge of a Normal School, Dr. Brown continued to direct the work of the Finance Department and the work on the Seoul Chemulpo Railway was pushed vigorously by an American syndicate. The Russians held in their hands the power to put a stop to much of this, but they appeared to be satisfied with holding the power without exercising it.

Chapter XXIII.

Material reforms . growth of conservative feeling....Russian influence . Mr. de Speyer....his activity attack on Dr. Brown ... England interposes...establishmeut of the Empire....the Queen's funeral....opening of 1898....Russians over-reach themselves ....the death of Prince Tă-wŭn . a paradox . withdrawal of the Russian employees.. .Independence Club beyond control abdication conspiracy....Yun Chi-ho before the Emperor....fall of Kim Hong-nyuk....attempted regicide....foreign body-guard ... Independent program....popular meetings....peddlars' guild ... Independents ask to be arrested....more government concessions ...Independents arrested....final overthrow of the Independence party.

The first half of 1897 was characterized by three special features in Korea. The first was a continuance of so-called reforms, all of which were of a utilitarian character. A gold mine concession was given to a German syndicate, a Chinese Language School and other schools were founded and the difficult work of cleaning out the Peking Pass was completed. It was announced that Chinnampo and Mokpo would be opened to trade in the Autumn. The second feature was the steady growth of the conservative element which was eventually to resume complete control of the government. As early as May of this year the editor of the *Korean Repository* said with truth "The collapse is as complete as it is pathetic. After the King came to the Russian Legation the rush of the reform movement could not be stayed at once nor even deflected. But soon there came the inevitable reaction. Reforms came to be spoken of less and less frequently. There was a decided movement backwards toward the old, well-beaten paths. But it was impossible to reestablish the old order of things entirely. We come then to the period of the revision of laws. Shortly after the King removed to the new palace an edict was put forth ordering the appointment of a Commission for the Revision of the Laws. This was received with satisfaction by the friends of progress. This commission contained the names of many prominent men such as Kim Pyung-si, Pak Chŏng-yang and Yi Wan-yong as well as the names of Dr. Brown, General Greathouse, Mr. Legendre and Dr. Jaisohn." But by the

twelfth of April the whole thing was dropped and the strong hopes of the friends of Korea were again dashed to the ground. The third feature of this period is the growing importance of Russian influence in Seoul. The training of the Korean army had already been taken out of Japanese hands and given to Russians and in August thirteen more Russian military instructors were imported. It was plain that Russia meant to carry out an active policy in Korea. Russian admirals, including, Admiral Alexeieff, made frequent visits to Seoul, and at last Russia made public avowal of her purposes, when she removed Mr. Waeber, who had served her so long and faithfully here and sent Mr. A. de Speyer to take his place. There was an immediate and ominous change in the tone which Russia assumed. From the very first de Speyer showed plainly that he was sent here to impart a new vigor to Russo-Korean relations; that things had been going too slow. It is probable that complaints had been made because in spite of Russia's predominating influence at the Korean Court concessions were being given to Americans, Germans and others outside. De Speyer soon showed the color of his instructions and began a course of brow-beating, the futility of which must have surprised him. It was on September 7th that he arrived, and within a month he had begun operations so actively that he attracted the attention of the world. In the first place he demanded a coaling station at Fusan on Deer Island which commands the entrance to the harbor. This was a blow aimed directly at Japan and sure to be resented. It came to nothing. Then Mr. Kir Alexeieff arrived from Russia, an agent of the Finance Department in St. Petersburg. In the face of the fact that Dr. Brown was Chief Commissioner of Custom and Adviser to the Finance Department, Mr. Alexeieff was appointed by the Foreign Office as director of the Finance Department. But the policy of bluff which de Speyer had inaugurated was not a success; he carried it so far that he aroused the strong opposition of other Powers, notably England, and before the end of the year, after only three months of incumbency, de Speyer was called away from Seoul. As we shall see, the whole of his work was overthrown in the following Spring.

But we must retrace our steps a little and record some other interesting events that happened during the closing months of 1897. It was on October 17th that the King went to the Imperial Altar and there was crowned Emperor of Taihan. This had been some time in contemplation and as Korea was free from foreign suzerainty she hastened, while it was time, to declare herself an empire. This step was recognized by the treaty powers within a short period and so Korea took her place on an equality with China and Japan.

On November 21st the funeral ceremony of the late Queen was held. It was a most imposing pageant. The funeral procession passed at night out of the city to the tomb where elaborate preparations had been made, and a large number of foreigners assembled there to witness the obsequies.

The situation in Korea as the year 1898 opened was something as follows. The conservatives had things well in hand and the Independence Club was passing on to its final effort and its final defeat. The work of such men as Dr. Jaisohn was still tolerated but the King and the most influential officials chafed under the wholesome advice that they received and it was evident that the first pretext would be eagerly seized for terminating a situation that was getting very awkward for both sides. The reaction was illustrated in an attack on the *Independent* by which the Korean postal department refused to carry it in the mails. The Russians had taken the bull by the horns and were finding that they had undertaken more than they could carry through without danger of serious complications. The Russian government saw this and recalled de Speyer in time to preserve much of their influence in Seoul. The Emperor, being now in his own palace but with easy access to the Russian Legation, seems to have lent his voice to the checking of the reform propaganda and in this he was heartily seconded by his leading officials. The most promising aspect of the situation was the determined attitude of the British government relative to the enforced retirement of Dr. Brown. When it became evident that a scarcely concealed plan was on foot to oust British and other foreigners in Korea, Great Britain by a single word and by a concentration of war vessels at Chemulpo changed

the whole program of the Russians; but as it appeared later the Russian plans were *only* changed, not abandoned. So the year opened with things political in a very unsettled state. Everything was in transition. The Independents and the Russians had some idea of what they wanted but seemed to be at sea as to the means for accomplishing it. The conservatives alone sat still and held on, sure that in the long run they would triumph even if they could not stop the march of material progress in the cleaning of the streets and the building of railways.

February of 1898 saw the taking off of the most commanding figure in Korean public life during the nineteenth century, in the person of Prince Tă-wŭn the father of the Emperpor, formerly Regent. For almost forty years he had been more or less intimately connected with the stiring events which have marked the present reign. The things which specially marked his career are (1) the Roman Catholic persecution of 1866, (2) the determined oppostion to the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, (3) the building of the Kyŏngbok Palace, (4) the debasing of Korean currency, (5) the feud with the Queen's party, (6) the temporary exile in China, (7) the assassination of the Queen. Whatever may be said for or against the Prince because of his policy he remains in the minds of the people a strong, independent character, and they cannot fail to admire the man even though they have to condemn his policy. His adherents stood by him with splendid loyalty even in the hours of his disgrace, because he was in some sense really great.

This time was characterized by curious inconsistencies. At the same time that an edict was promulgated stating that no more concessions would be granted to foreigners the Seoul Electric Company was organized to construct a tramway and a lighting plant in Seoul. Material improvements continued parallel with, but in the opposite direction from, the policy of the Government. An agreement was even entered into with an American firm for the construction of a system of water works for Seoul at a cost of some seven million yen.

The failing hopes of the Independence Club drove it to its final place, that of protest. Memorials began to pour in protesting against this and that. In February it complained

of foreign control in Korea, directing the attack apparently upon the Russian pretentions; but if so it was unnecessary, for by the first of March the Russians decided that their position was untenable or that a temporary withdrawal of pressure from Seoul would facilitate operations in other directions, and so, under cover of a complaint as to the vacillating policy of the Korean Government they proposed to remove Mr. Alexeieff from his uncomfortable position vis-a-vis Dr. Brown and also take away all the military instructors. Perhaps they were under the impression that this startling proposal would frighten the Government into making protestations that would increase Russian influence here, but if so they were disappointed for the Government promptly accepted their proposition and dispensed with the services of these men. No doubt the Government had come to look with some anxiety upon the growing influence of Russia here and with the same oscillatory motion as of yore made a strong move in the opposite direction when the opportunity came. The Korean Government has been nearly as astute as Turkey in playing off her "friends" against each other.

Just one month later April 12th N. Matuuine relieved Mr. de Speyer, the Russo-Korean bank closed its doors, the Russian military and other officers took their departure and a very strained situation was relieved for the time being. At about the same time Dr. Jaisohn was paid off and left the country, the management of the *Independent* falling into other hands. This event was important as strowing the hopeless state into which the Independence Club and all other friends of progress had fallen. From this time on the tone of the club grew steadily more petulant. The older men in it who saw that the time was not ripe for reform withdrew and left the management of the club and the determiuation of its policy in the hands of younger men who had not the experience necessary for the handling of such affairs; and although in Yun-Chi-ho, the president of the Club, it had a clear-headed and devoted man he was not able to control the young blood that had begun to run with something too feverish a course in the veins of the society. The excited state of the public mind is proved by the fact that several other daily and weekly periodicals sprang up, debating societies flourished and people

began to talk about things. The conservations laid all these things up against the Independence Club and awaited their time.

The summer of this year furnished Seoul with some excitement in the shape of a discovered conspiracy to force the King to abdicate, place the Crown Prince on the throne and institute a new era in Korean history. The plot, if such it may be called, was badly planned and deservedly fell through. It was one of the foolish moves called out by the excitement engendered in the Independence movement. An Kyŭng su, ex-president of the Independence Club, was the party mainly implicated and he saved himself only by promptly decamping and putting himself into the hands of the Japanese.

About the same time the Independence Club came into direct opposition to the Government in its strong protest against the appointment of the conservative Cho Pyŭng-sik to the vice-presidency of the Council of State. The commotion, engendered by this, resulted in Mr. Yun Chi-ho being called before the Emperor, where he made a strong appeal in favor of the Independence Club and asserted the continued loyalty of the club toward His Majesty. Unfortunalely he asserted that the Emperor having sanctioned the founding of the club could disband it merely by Imperial decree. For the time, this appeal sufficed and the immediate object of the society was secured, but the Emperor did not forget that he had it in his power to dissolve the club by a single word. As a fact, the mere sanction of the founding of the Club gave no more power to dissolve it than the wedding ceremony which a clergyman performs gives the right in future to dissolve that union. There can be no doubt that from this time on the Emperor was determined to eliminate this disturbing element at the first opportunity. He had no sympathy with its platform, one plank of which was the curtailment of the Imperial prerogative.

August saw the fall of Kim Hong-nyuk, the former Russian interpreter, who ruffled it so proudly at Court on account of his connection with the Russian Legation. For a year he had a good time of it and amassed great wealth, but when the Russians withdrew their influence in March of this year Kim lost all his backing and thenceforward his doom was as

sure as fate itself. The genuine noblemen whose honors he had filched were on his track and in August he was accused, deposed and banished. This did not satisfy his enemies however, but an opportunity came when on September tenth an attempt was made to posion the Emperor and the Crown Prince. The attempt came near succeeding and in the investigation which followed one of the scullions deposed that he had been instructed by a friend of Kim Hong-uyuk to put something into the coffee. How Kim, away in banishment, could have had anything to do with it would be hard to tell. He may have conceived the plan but the verdict of a calm and dispassionate mind must be that he probably knew nothing about it at all. However, in such a case, someone must suffer. The criminal *must* be found; and it is more than probable that those who hated Kim Hong-uyuk thought he would make an excellent scape-goat. He was tried, condemned and executed.

About the same time the Emperor came to the couclusion that he would like to have a foreign body-guard. C. R. Greathouse was sent to Shanghai to find the material for this guard. Thirty men were picked up, of various natioualities, and they arrived in Seoul on September fifteenth. This move caused intense excitement and opposition. The Independence Club was in the fore-front of the protest that was made. A dozen good arguments were adduced showing why this should not be be done, and so unaminous was the sentiment that the Emperor yielded to popular clamor and dismissed the men, but this, again, cannot but have set the Emperor against the Independence Club, inasmuch as they had been priucipally instrumental in thwarting a pet scheme of his own.

The month of September witnessed better things than these, however. The Japauese obtained their concession for the Seoul-Fusan Railway, an event of great importance every way and one that will mean much to Korea.

In September the Independence Club determined that it would be well to put forward a program of work in place of the merely destructive criticism which had for some time characterized its policy. An appeal was made to the general public to assemble, iu order to suggest reforms. Whether

this was wise or not is a question. A popular assembly in Korea is hardly capable of coming to wise conclusions or to participate in plans for constructive statesmanship. In addition to this an appeal to the people was inevitably construed by the conservatives as a desperate measure which invited revolution. In a sense they were justfied in so thinking, for the general populace of Korea never has risen in protest unless the evils under which they are suffering have driven them to the last court of appeal, mob law. The move was in the direction of democracy and no one can judge that the people of Korea are ready for any such thing.

However this may be, a mass meeting was held at Chongno, to which representatives of all classes were called. The following articles were formulated and presented to the cabinet for imperial sanction.

(1) Neither officials nor people shall depend upon foreign aid, but shall do their best to strengthen and uphold the Imperial power.

(2) All documents pertaining to foreign loans, the hiring of foreign soldiers, the granting of concessions, &c., in fact every document drawn up between the Korean government and a foreign party or firm, shall be signed and sealed by all the Ministers of State and the President of the Privy Council.

(3) Important offenders shall be punished only after they have been given a public trial and ample opportunity to defend themselves.

(4) To His Majesty shall belong the power to appoint Ministers, but in case a majority of the cabinet disapproves of the Emperor's nominee he shall not be appointed.

(5) All sources of revenue and methods of raising taxes shall be placed under the control of the Finance Department, no other department or officer or corporation being allowed to interfere therewith; and the annual estimates and balances shall be made public.

(6) The existing laws and regulations shall be enforced without fear or favor.

It will be seen that several of these measures strike directly at powers which have been held for centuries by the King himself and it cannot be supposed that His Majesty would listen willingly to the voice of the common people when they

demanded such far-reaching innovations. The whole thing was utterly distasteful to him, but the united voice of the people is a serious matter. In such a country as Korea the clearly announced statement of the common people as to their wishes carries with it the implication that they have come to the point where they are ready to make trouble if their demands are not complied with. The intensity of the popular feeling was shown in the general closing of shops and in the attendance even of women upon the mass meetings. The reactionists were seriously startled by these demonstrations, and it became necessary to temporize. These demands were not such as would involve any immediate changes; they all looked to the future. So it was an easy matter simply to comply with the demands and wait for the public feeling to subside. On the last day of September His Majesty ordered the carrying out of these six propositions.

The trouble was that the conservatives felt that they had not sufficient physical power to oppose a popular uprising. The temporary concession was made with no idea of real compliance, and was immediately followed by measures for securing a counter demonstration. The instrument selected for this purpose was the old-time Peddlar's Guild. This was a defunct institution, but the name survived, and the conservatives used it to bring together a large number of men who were ready for any sort of work that would mean pay. These were organized into a company whose duty it was to run counter to all popular demonstrations like those which had just been made. No sooner was this hireling band organized than His Majesty, in pursuance of the hint dropped some months before by the President of the Independence Club, ordered the disbanding of the Club. From this time on the Independence Club was no longer recognized by the Government and was an illegal institution, by the very terms of the unfortunate admission of its President that the Emperor could at any time disband it by Imperial decree. Mr. Yun Chi-ho had by this time come to see that the Club was running to dangerous extremes and was likely to cause serious harm; and he and others worked with all their power to curb the excitement and secure rational action on the part of the members of the Club. But the time when such counsels

could prevail had already passed. The Club knew that the principles it advocated were correct and it was angry at the stubborn opposition that it met. It was ready to go to any lengths to secure its ends. Passion took the place of judgment and the overthrow of the opposition loomed larger in its view than the accomplishment of its rational ambitions.

Instead of dispersing in compliance with the Imperial order the assembled Independents went in a body to the Police Headquarters and asked to be arrested. This is a peculiarly Korean mode of procedure, the idea being that if put on trial they would be able to shame their adversaries; and incidentally it embarrassed the adminstration, for the prisons would not suffice to hold the multitude that clamored for incarceration. The crowd was altogether too large and too determined for the Peddlers to attack and another concession had to be made. The Independents, for it can no longer be called the Independent Club, offered to disperse on condition that they be guaranteed freedom of speech. The demand was immediately complied with; anything to disperse that angry crowd which under proper leadership might at any moment do more than make verbal demands. So on the next day an Imperial decree granted the right of free speech. This concession, likewise, was followed by a hurried muster of all the peddlars and their more complete organization. Backed by official aid and Imperial sanction they were prepared to come to blows with the people who should assemble for the purpose of making further demands upon the Emperor.

Shortly before this the Emperor had consented to the proposition that the Independence Club should choose by ballot from their own number twenty-five men who should sit in the Privy Council. This council had for a time exercised some influence during the earlier months of Dr. Jaisohn's residence in Seoul but it had lost all power and had become a limbo to which were politely relegated those whom the government did not care to use and yet was unwilling to dismiss. The edict of the Emperor disbanding the Club would be supposed to countermand this order for election, but the Independents themselves did not so view it, and the day set for the election was November 5th. The conservatives now deemed themselves strong enough to try conclusions

with the outlawed Club and before daylight of November 5th seventeen of the leading men of the Independence Club were arrested and lodged in jail. Mr. Yun, the president, narrowly escaped arrest. It was afterwards ascertained that the plan of the captors was to kill the president of the Club before he could receive aid from the enraged people.

When morning came and the arrest became known the city hummed like a bee-hive. A surging crowd was massed in front of the Supreme Court demanding loudly the release of the prisoners who had been accused, so the anonymous placards announced, of conspiring to establish a republic! Again the popular feeling was too strong for the courage of the peddlar thugs and they remained in the back-ground. The agitation continued all that day and the next, and the next, until the authorities were either frightened into submission or, deeming that they had shown the Independents a glimpse of what they might expect, released the arrested men. But the Independents, so far from being cowed, hailed this as a vindication of their policy and attempted to follow up the defeat of the conservatives by demanding the arrest and punishment of the people who had played the trick upon the Club. As these men were very prominent officials and had the ear of the Emperor it was not possible to obtain the redress demanded. So the month of November wore away in a ferment of excitement. Popular meetings were frequent but the crowd had not the determination to come to conclusions with the government. The conservatives saw this and with utmost nicety gauged the resisting power of the malcontents. The offensive tactics of the latter were confined merely to free speech and the conservatives determined to see what they would do when on the defensive. Accordingly on the morning of November 21st a band of ruffians, the so-called peddlars, attacked the people who had gathered as usual to discuss the stirring questions of the times. Weapons were used and a number of people were injured. The Independents had never contemplated the use of force, and this brutal assault aroused the ire of the whole people, most of whom had not as yet taken sides. Serious hand to hand fights occurred in various parts of the city and the peddlars, conscious that even their most murderous attacks would be

condoned in high places, attempted to whip the people into something like quietude.

On the 26th of November in the midst of this chaotic state of things the Emperor granted a great general audience outside the great gate of the palace. The Independence Club was there in force, and foreign representatives and a large number of other foreign residents. It was a little Runnymede but with a different ending. Yun Chi-ho was naturally the spokesman of the Independence party. He made a manly and temperate statement of the position of his constituents. He denounced the armed attacks of the peddlars upon people who intended no violence but only desired the fulfillment of solemnly made pledges. He called to account those who imputed to the Independence Club traitorous designs. He urged that the legal existence of the Club should be again established by Imperial decree and that the six measures so definitely and distinctly promised by His Majesty should be carried out. There was no possible argument to oppose to these requests and the Emperor promised to shape the policy of the government in line with these suggestions. Again it was mere promise, made to tide over an actual and present difficulty. The Independence people should have recognized this. The Emperor was surrounded by men inimical to the reform program, they had the police and the army back of them as well as the peddlars. The Independence party had not a single prominent representative in any really responsible and influential government office. They simply had right and the precarious voice of Korean popular feeling behind them. What was necessary was a campaign of education. The program advocated was one that could be carried out only under a government whose personnel was at least approximately up to the standard of that program. This could be claimed of only two or three members of the Independence Club. Having secured this public promise of His Majesty the club should have waited patiently to see what would happen and if the promises were not kept they should have waited and worked for a time when public sentiment among the leading men would compel reform. But as Mr. Yun himself confesses, "The popular meetings had gone beyond the control of the Independence

Club and in the face of strong advice to the contrry they were resumed on December 6th and their language became careless and impudent. On the sixteenth of December the Privy Council recommended the recall of Pak Yong-hyo from Japan. The popular meeting had the imprudence to endorse this action. The more conservative portion of the people revolted against the very mention of the name. Suspicion was excited that the popular agitations had been started in the interests of Pak Yong-hyo and they instantly lost the sympathy of the people." The enemies of the liberal party had probably used this argument to its fullest extent, and when it was seen that the Independence movement had at last been deprived of its strongest support, the popular voice, its enemies came down upon it with cruel force. In spite of voluble promises to the contrary large numbers of the reform party were arrested and thrown into prison; uot, to be sure, on the change of being members of this party, but on trumped-up charges of various kinds, especially, that of being accessory to the plan of bringing back Pak Yong-hyo. And thus came to an end a political party whose aims were of the highest character, whose methods were entirely peaceable but whose principles were so far in advance of the times that from the very first there was no human probability of success. But, as Mr. Yun Chi-ho said, though the party dies the principles which it held will live and eventually succeed.

The year 1899 opened with political matters in a more quiet state than for some years past, owing to the violent repression of the Independeuce Club aud the liberal movement. The judgmeut of the future will be that at this point Japan made a serious mistake of omission. The aims and purposes of the Independence party were directly in line with Japanese interests here and if that powerful government had actively interested itself in the success of the movement and had taken it for granted that the plan was to be definitely carried out the succeeding years would have made very differeut history than they did. But during all this time Japan seems to have retired into comparative quietude, perhaps because she saw the coming of her inevitable struggle with Russia and was not williug to hasten matters by coming into premature

conflict with the northern power in Korea, pending the completion of her preparations for the supreme struggle.

Through all this period Russian influence was quietly at work securing its hold upon the Korean Court and upon such members of the government as it could win over. The general populace was always suspicious of her, however, and always preferred the rougher hand of Japan to the soft but heavy hand of Russia. The progress of the Russian plans was illustrated when in January of 1899 a mission of the Greek Church was established in Seoul. This suggests some remarks upon the general subject of mission work in Korea. The Presbyterian Church of America had established work here in 1884: the Methodist Episcopal Church of America began work in 1885; the Australian Presbyterian Church in 1889; The English Church Mission in 1890; the Southern Presbyterian Church of America in 1892; the Southern Methodist Church of America in 1896; the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in 1898. Besides these there was independent work under some smaller bodies including one Baptist organization and one college mission. When the last year of the 19th century opened these missions had all become firmly established, and important centres of mission work were found all over the country, especially in Seoul, Chemulpo, Pyeng-yang, Fusan, Wonsan, Chŭn-ju, Kunsan, Mokpo, Tă-gu and Song-do. From the very first the Protestant Missions adopted the principle of non-interferance with political affairs and with the ordinary course of justice in Korean courts. It has not always been possible to follow this principle implicitly but the people have come to learn that connection with a Protestant Christian Church will not absolve them from their duties and obligations toward their own government nor shield them from the results of misconduct. It has been found that the Korean temperament makes him easily accessible to the rational idealism of Christianity. From the very first the form of Christianity presented by the Protestant missionaries took hold of the Koreans with great power and by the end of the first fifteen years of work the various missions had some twenty thousand adherents. The northern station of the Presbyterian Mission in Korea attained world-wide notice as being, so far

as human estimate can go, the most successful mission station in the world; and this not merely because of the number of people received into Church connection but because of the striking results obtained along the line of self support and independent Christian work. Hospitals were established in Seoul, Fusan, Wonsan, Pyeng-yang, Tă-gu and Chemulpo, and schools of various grades both for boys and girls were established in almost every mission station. The work of Bible translation was carried on steadily until by the end of 1899 the whole of the New Testament was put in the hands of the people at least in tentative form. The Korean Religious Tract Society, established early in the last decade of the century, did heroic work in putting forth Christian literature of all kinds. Literary work was represented in various grammars and manuals of Korean, several hymnals, an unabridged dictionary and the publication of a monthly magazine in English called *The Korean Repository*.

Before going forward into the new century we should note some of the more important material advances that Korea had made. Railway concessions for some 600 miles of track had been granted, half to Japanese and half to a French syndicate; several new and important ports had been opened, bringing the total number up to ten, inclusive of Seoul and Pyeng-yang; mining concessions had been given to Americans, English, Germans, French and Japanese, two of which had proved at least reasonably successful; timber and whaling concessions had been given to Russians on the east side of the peninsula and important fishing rights had been given to the Japanese; an attempt at a general system of education had been made throughout the country and the work of publishing text books was being pushed; students were sent abroad to acquire a finished education and legations at all the most important political centers were established; an attempt at a better currency had been made, though it was vitiated by official corruption and the operations of counterfeiters; trade had steadily increased and the imports and exports of Korea passed beyond the negligeable stage; an excellent postal system had been inaugurated under foreign supervision, and Korea had entered the Postal Union.